1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *ewm*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.[27] Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kul-trufi*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

[27] By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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back for Cautinche. Before we left, however, knots of men could be seen taking long swigs of wine from bottles brought to the spot by bootleggers.

COMPARISON OF ÑILLATUN AT COIGUE AND MALALCHE

To indicate the many variations of the *ñillatun* performance, let us now summarize the major differences in the two events just described. In contrast to Coigue, no cross was in evidence at Malalche, and while the celebration took place on a hockey field, no game of *chueca* was played. The *machi* at Malalche had two assistants and became possessed, but she lacked the poise and control of the *machi* who conducted the Coigue rites with a single assistant and without speaking in a spirit voice. The sheep staked near the Coigue altar was not sacrificed. At Malalche, there were more special dancers, more *trutrukas* and *pifullkas*, two altars, and a longer dance ground, but there was much less asperging, a poorer ostrich performance, a ragged *awn*, and far less fervor in keeping dogs away from the main altar. Furthermore, black standards and cheek marks featured the Coigue ceremony that sought rain, whereas the Malalche rites came after the winter wheat was sown and asked for sunshine by the use of white banners. Finally, there were many more participants at Malalche, and much more evidence of disorder and intoxication than was seen at Coigue.

Two features, sometimes associated with the rites, were absent both at Coigue and Malalche. One of these, *konchotun*, is called by Moesbach an annex to the *ñillatun*.[30] This is the ceremony, involving the consumption of a sacrificed sheep, by which two sets of people may pledge friendship or make matrimonial alliances. The other trait that was missing was clowning by men in masks. As explained by Juan Antinao, clowns, *ayekan wentrus*, used to be privileged performers, and their favorite trick was to snatch roasting meat away from the fire of an unwary woman. Clowning seems to have had the dual purpose of amusing spectators and of providing a happy atmos-

796 522

[30] Moesbach, 1930, p. 371.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

phere so pleasing to the gods that they would be more likely to grant the prayers of the people.[21]

Irrespective of differences in details, both sets of observances were patterned along similar lines. In each case it was evident that the *ñillatun* is a complex performance, containing elements of the major Araucanian ceremonial activities. Within its structure there are included features of the public assembly (*kawiñ*), hockey game (*palikantun*), and curing ritual (*machitun*). There is a likelihood that the lack of systematization and standardization may reflect the breakdown of Mapuche social organization, but such a hypothesis can only be stated tentatively at the present time.

[21] A wide variety of songs used by masked clowns is published in Guevara 1934, pp. 322–31.

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Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements,
864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court-
[836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual
[584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after
[529] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous.
[595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani-
[231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their
[561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions
864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge
[831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under
[831] the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is
[836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

The young man assented to this demand, at the same time asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the *ñachi* at one gulp, and then tossed off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with *witranalwe* are often more lugubrious, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call *witranalwe* the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns, dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of levity in recounting tales of meetings with *witranalwe* and other *wekufe*, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits. They are everpresent, however, and must be dealt with continually. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is the *ahuenpalwe* described earlier. In the Lumaco region, south of Lake Villarica, there was a tale being told during my residence of a young woman lost to a male *ahuenpalwe*. A woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food